1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read.

Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school.

However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice.

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate.

In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home.

The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing

876 is to do an effective job.

871 There are ten officials of the Parents' Association, two from each village in the li. This unit is somewhat similar to the American P.T.A., but much more powerful for it raises money for school affairs such as additional class rooms by means of the previously described [571] informal process. It is important for the school principal to have a good kan-ch'ing[5] (emotional relationship or feelings) with the Parents' Association.

The procedure for electing Association officials contains many elements of traditional politics. Students bring home the list of candidates selected by a nominating committee of school and association officials. Each household rather than each individual has one vote, entered by stamping the family chop[6] next to the name of the desired candidate. Slips are returned to the school and counted by the committee. Thus, the ballot is not secret and choices are usually determined by consensus before voting begins. The association board meets at least once per month with the principal and periodically, there are open meetings for the entire membership.

876 Instructional methods are traditional, i.e., there is great emphasis on rote memorization with classes chanting lessons in unison. In traditional terms:

> the word education . . . in the Chinese language is not restricted . . . to the acquisition of

876 technical skills designed to make a living, but comprises the Renaissance idea of the "whole man," including moral behavior; attitudes towards fellow men, relatives, and country; public responsibility; and so forth (Suyin Han, 1966:97-8).

872 This is still an appropriate description of the local school curriculum. There is little emphasis on technical skills other than reading and writing as compared with the amount of time devoted to moral behavior and proper political ideology. Physical training--exercise and games--to develop the body are now included, particularly on Saturday mornings. The school has achieved some success in tag ball competition with other schools. The teams include both girls and boys for separation of sexes in school does not begin until the junior high level.

871 Interest in education is growing, now much stronger in the progressive li faction of Erhlei and T'oulei. The government is in process of implementing a plan for nine years of compulsory education and when it is promulgated, Talei Li children will attend in spite of the fact that villagers do not believe in the value of education for

829 most people. "When the government makes a decision one should smile and obey. To protest is as worthless as a mosquito biting a water buffalo's horn" (see Glossary C), was the statement of the old store owner, an important traditional leader, to a group of senior citizens when asked by one what should be done about the recent increase

875 The teachers and villagers have few contacts as most teachers consider themselves an elite forced to associate with parents whom they seemingly regard as ignorant peasants. [563] Undoubtedly the Mainlander (teacher)-Taiwanese (villager) identities exacerbate the relationship problems (See Chapter I). Only two teachers are highly admired by villagers, one of whom is a Taiwanese.

872 The school is so overcrowded that the first four grades are on half-day sessions and only the last two grades are full-day sessions. The first five days of the week are primarily devoted to academics but with a mid-morning and mid-afternoon recess. Saturday morning is devoted to physical education, housekeeping, and additional lessons in Mandarin.

• 876 Teaching techniques emphasize rote memorization, chanting lessons in unison, and extreme respect for the teacher. Elements of traditional classical education remain a part of the curriculum for a major goal of education is to make good citizens. Everyone memorizes a large number of quotations and classical short stories which possess a moral. This kind of memorization was common in the village even among those who were illiterate and the school merely reinforced and expanded this traditional content. One old village man, quite illiterate, could recite an appropriate quote for any occasion.[3]

171 876 There is an interesting contrast in the Chinese and American teacher's relationship with students. Using

Cooley's construct of a primary-secondary relationship continuum (1909), Americans expect a kindergarden or first grade teacher to have a primary relationship with his students, i.e., he should be intimate and have knowledge of the child's home life, father's occupation, number of siblings, etc. As the child progresses in school, his relationships with teachers moves steadily towards the secondary end of the continuum, reaching its lowest point near the second year of college. It then reverses again approaching a maximum at the primary end during advanced graduate work.

The Chinese model is quite different. The first grade teacher has an extreme form of a secondary relationship with his pupils possessing knowledge of the student's name and academic performance and little more. He should not be warm; rather, he should be extremely harsh, a style of behavior considered best by teacher and parents alike. Indeed, parents will criticize a teacher on the basis that he doesn't look "fierce" enough. The new principal who assumed the position during our study experienced some problems establishing her competency because she was a female. Villagers felt that no female could be quite as frightening to a child as a male and therefore, she would not be able to properly fulfill the principal's main function of discipline. The secondary relationship is maintained with almost all students throughout primary school although a few

• 8% of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

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867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are coeducational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

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769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the kung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[751] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

857 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
• 882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

Young Men

561 884 As will be discussed in the life history section, there is a period almost of limbo for young men between primary school graduation and their military service. At some point which is not clearly delineated a boy becomes a man and earns a man's wage rather than a boy's wage. Boys who enroll for an apprenticeship or who continue in school tend to drop out but those remaining in the village constitute a social group.

561 983 517 The main activities of the group are in the evening and consist of conversation, music, wandering around, telling jokes, talking about girls, and the occasional trip to tea houses which are cheaper than coffee or wine houses. Such places usually have girls who are not prostitutes but who will talk very suggestively, entertain, and occasionally pet.

561 These young men's groups are age graded, usually a spread of not more than two or three years. They sometimes become a sworn brother's association and at that time, the student and apprentice in the appropriate age group will usually be invited to join.

Young Women

882 In general, there is no equivalent for girls of the young men's groups described above. Girls who graduate from primary school stay and help at home until marriage and are watched much more carefully than boys. The major

CHAPTER VIII

THE LIFE CYCLE

121 Although the most general patterns will be abstracted below, it must be made patent that there is great variability in the life histories of individual villagers. China is a high civilization and a defining characteristic of a civilization is the existence of a large number of modal patterns of behavior. In addition to differences due to sub-cultural variation and individual personalities, there is structured variance related to wealth, sex, birth order, family type, etc. For example, the fact of an adoption would make a significant difference in an individual's life history and although not everyone is adopted, a sizeable minority of village children are adopted.

[178] Taiwan is experiencing great economic and political changes and these too are modifying traditional patterns of 121 the life cycle and its stages. Formal education furnishes 871 a prime example. Currently, two significant stages in the 882 life cycle are marked by entrance into the first grade, the pre-schoolen versus the student and the next stage is marked by graduation at the end of the sixth year of school, the change from student to young adult status.

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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

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Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not